

MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND CIVIL- MILITARY RELATIONS

ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY-EL SALVADOR CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

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The purpose of this thesis is to determine to what extent the civilian elected authorities have achieved control over the military in El Salvador. Much of the literature on democratization suggests that such control is a necessary condition for the full consolidation of democracy within a country. This thesis begins with a historical overview on civil-military relations in El Salvador, and focuses on current civil-military relations.

The application of Alfred Stephan's eleven prerogatives is used in order to measure the level of civilian control over the military. The analysis indicates that three of the military prerogatives have been reduced substantially. Six prerogatives present a change from the high to moderate category. One prerogative related to the relations with the chief executive remains in the moderate category, and finally the military prerogative on officer promotions remains in the high category. Based on this analysis, this thesis concludes that since 1992, elected civilian authorities have achieved considerable control over the military, thus inferring that civil-military relations in El Salvador are on the right track in order to help the country towards the process of consolidating a democracy.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Civil-Military Relations, El Salvador)

KEYWORDS: Democracy, Prerogative, Civil-Military Relations, Hegemonic Party System, Authoritarian Regime, Peace Agreements, El Salvador

PROFESSIONALIZING THE ESTONIAN RESERVE COMPONENT

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As new democracies such as the Republic of Estonia decide how to structure their military forces for the future, they will need to determine the mix of two different force components: standing-active duty forces, and reserve forces composed of citizen-soldiers. This thesis argues that reliance on reserves can offer significant advantages over standing forces, depending on a nation's external security requirements and domestic economic constraints.

In particular, citizen-soldier reserves can allow nations that do not face immediate external threats, such as Estonia, to meet their security requirements for less money than required by standing forces. Citizen-soldier reserves are also less likely to pose a domestic threat to democratic civilian control. Both issues are of special concern to nations such as Estonia, where the process of democratic consolidation is still underway, and little funding is available for defense.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

KEYWORDS: Citizen-Soldier, Reserve Component, National Defense League (Kaiteliit), Republic of Estonia

UKRAINE'S SECURITY OPTION IN THE NEW EUROPE

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Since the disintegration of the Soviet empire, the independence of Ukraine has become one of the most significant geopolitical factors for the security and stability of Europe.

To a great extent, the future European security order depends on Ukraine's security option in the new Europe. While cognizant of other security options – for instance, to integrate in the West or to join the pro-Russian security treaty of the Commonwealth of Independent States – Ukraine has defined itself as neutral. In its security policy, Ukraine intends to participate in Europe's major institutions, to develop close relations with its strategic partners and neighbors, and to maintain constructive relations with Russia.

The process of Ukraine's self-definition in a new European security architecture promises to continue to present great challenges.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Command, Control, and Communications

KEYWORDS: European Union, European Security Architecture, Commonwealth of Independent States, Strategic Partnership, National Security, Neutrality

BULGARIAN MILITARY IN TRANSITION–THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF DEMOCRATIC CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

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The Republic of Bulgaria is situated at the center of a politically and economically unstable region. The changes in Central and Eastern Europe since 1989 have provided the countries of that part of the continent an opportunity to reintegrate into the community of democratic nations. Reform of the armed forces, strengthening of civilian control of the military and achieving interoperability with NATO forces are major priorities in the process of admission. One of these priorities is the creation of democratic civilian control over the military. The existence of a clear legal and constitutional framework, defining the relationships between the state and the armed forces has paramount importance for exercising the democratic civilian control over the military.

The existence of developed legal framework is probably even more important in the Bulgarian case because of the lack of civil society until 1989 and a law system influenced strongly by the Soviet legal theory. The new Bulgarian Constitution was adopted in 1991, the Defense and Armed Forces Law in the end of 1995 and amended a year later. This thesis represents a study of Bulgarian civil-military relations, legal basis for military activities, and how this legal foundation relates to development of the civil-military relations.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Bulgaria, Civil-Military Relations, Legal Framework, Constitution, President's Authorities, National Security, Institutional Framework

MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES IN CASES OF POLITICAL OR SOCIAL VIOLENCE: A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ROMANIA

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The thesis argument is that in a democracy, the military is a valuable instrument in quelling domestic violence. The author attempts to prove that the military response is critical in dealing with civilian violence and approaches the issue of the legitimacy of this response.

The author analyzes the current status of civil-military relations, the record of the military's employment in cases of civilian disturbances, as well as the legal framework governing this employment in both countries.

The thesis uses the 1992 Los Angeles riots as a case study for the United States. For Romania, the 1989 Revolution and the 1991 incidents are investigated with a view to determining Romanian particulars. In conclusion, the thesis compares the two cases to draw conclusions from the U.S. case appropriate to the Romanian one, and thus to improve the Romanian military response to civil violence.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Civil Disturbances, Civil-Military Relations, Domestic Support Operations, Federal Armed Forces, National Guard, Los Angeles Riots (1992), Romanian Revolution (1998)

THE SECURITY DILEMMA IN THE BALTIC SEA REGION AND ITS IMPACT ON THE REGIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENSE COOPERATION

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This thesis argues that the Baltic Sea region still faces significant security challenges in the post-Cold War era. In particular, nations in the region confront a "cooperative security dilemma." Baltic Sea countries are adopting a range of cooperative agreements to strengthen their security. By doing so, however, they may risk alienating other nations that are left out of those agreements, and thereby create an unstable security environment. This thesis examines the nature of the cooperative security dilemma in the Baltic Sea region, and analyzes how Baltic Sea nations can cooperate in the future without posing a threat to other nations, including Russia. This thesis argues that the Baltic Security Assistance (BALTSEA) program offers a model of future security arrangements which could avoid the problems of the security dilemma.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: International Relations, European Security, Security Dilemma, Baltic Sea Region

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A COMPARISON OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND SLOVAKIA IN NATO ENLARGEMENT

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This thesis compares two cases of European democracy and security to explain why the Czech Republic was invited to join NATO and why Slovakia was excluded from the Euro-Atlantic integration. This thesis further discusses the political and economic character of Slovakia and the proposed reforms of Slovak policy to join NATO and the European Union in the near future.

When Czechoslovakia split into two independent states, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, on January 1, 1993, both were believed to have a good chance of integrating into the West's political and military organizations at the earliest opportunity. While the Czech Republic forged ahead with democratic and free market reforms and successfully completed NATO accession talks, Slovakia failed to achieve these important objectives. Because of Slovak Prime Minister Vladimír Mečiar's anti-democratic statecraft, Slovakia has lately been excluded from the enlargement process. This policy led Slovakia slowly and non-democratically toward an authoritarian regime and dictatorship. However, the September 1998 Parliamentary elections have changed the political face of Slovakia and the new Prime Minister, Mikuláš Dzurinda's government, has aided Slovakia's integration to NATO and the EU.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (European Security, Civil-Military Relations)

KEYWORDS: Civil-Military Relations, Communist Collapse, Czech Republic, Czechoslovakia, Democracy, Elections, Exclusion, NATO Enlargement, Security, Transition, Integration Separation, Slovakia, Velvet Revolution